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HISTORY
OF THE
REBELLION
IN
NORFOLK,

In the YEAR MDXLIX:

WHICH WAS CONDUCTED BY

ROBERT KETT,

A Tanner by Trade at *Wymondham*.

Their Final Overthrow, on the 27th of *August*, by the Conduct
and valiant Behaviour of the noble Earl of WARWICK.



NORWICH: PRINTED BY J. CROUSE,
For MARTIN BOOTH, on the Upper Gentleman's Walk.



T O T H E
R E A D E R.

IN this short Treatise is contained all the Matters of Fact committed by the Rebels, in that memorable Year 1549, in the County of *Norfolk* and City of *Norwich*; as related by *Alexander Neville*, who was allowed at that Time to give a just Account of their vile Proceedings from the first to the last Day; setting forth the Madness of those unhappy Men, in gathering together so great a Number, being agitated and led on to all Mischief and barbarous Cruelty against their fellow Countrymen, by their Captain **ROBERT** and his Brother **WILLIAM KETT**, who were wicked desperate bold Fellows, leading these unhappy and unthinking Crew with themselves to Destruction, as indeed they worthily deserved; for during the Time of this Rebellion, which lasted from the 6th of *July* to the 27th of *August*, a great Number of worthy Knights and Gentlemen were slain, with the noble Lord *Sheffield*, in the several Encounters which happened in the City and Parts adjacent: The Rebels Loss also was very great, as their Number was about 20,000 strong, and consequently stood thick where any Action happened;

ed; but, on the 27th of *August*, being entirely defeated and overthrown, by the noble and valiant Earl of *Warwick*, their Slaughter was great; and would have been much greater, had not that gracious Peer extended his Clemency and Mercy to the Remainder of those miserable and unhappy Men, for he considered that most were ignorant and foolish, and easily drawn away from their Duty by the specious Pretences of their Leaders, and the more crafty of that lawless Rout, keeping them in Liquor, (which they plundered from the honest Citizens) which rendered them incapable of reflecting of the Heinousness of their Crime; but on the contrary were hardened in their Guilt, and so infatuated as to refuse the King's most gracious Pardon, several Times offered to them by his Herald, whom they made a Mock and Scoff on several Times, and even on that Morning the Battle was fought, which proved their final Overthrow, which gave great Joy to the County and City of *Norwich*.

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T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
KETT'S REBELLION.

THE occasion of this rebellion was, because divers lords and gentlemen, who were possessed of abbey-lands, and other large commons and waste grounds, had caused many of those commons and wastes to be inclosed, whereby the poor and indigent people were much offended, being thereby abridged of the liberty that they formerly had, to common cattle, &c. on the said grounds to their own advantage. The lord protector had at that time lost himself in the love of the vulgar, by his severe (if not unnatural) proceeding against his brother; and in order to regain their love, he caused a proclamation to be published in the beginning of May, that all persons who had inclosed any lands that used to be common should lay them open again, before a fixed day, on a certain penalty for not doing so: this so much encouraged the commons in many parts of the realm, that (not staying the time limited in the proclamation) they gathered together in a tumultuous manner, pulled up the pales, flung down the banks, filled up the ditches, laying all such new-inclosed lands open as they were before. But the most dangerous commotions, which held so long as to entitle them to the name of REBELLIONS, were those of Devonshire and Norfolk; for divers seditious persons and busy fellows began to complain, that the like was not done in Norfolk, as report said was done by the commons of Kent, who had laid open all such new-inclosed lands; and from thenceforth they determined to do the same here, designing not only to lay open parks and new inclosures, but to attempt other re-formations, to the great danger of overthrowing the commonwealth. They openly declared great hatred against all gentlemen

men, whom they maliciously accused of covetousness, pride, extortion, and oppression, practiced against their tenants and the common people. They began to put in execution their vile designs, and first of all the inhabitants of Attleburgh, and other neighbouring towns, being enraged with Mr. John Green, lord of the manor of Wilby, for inclosing that part of the common belonging to his manor, which before laid open to the adjoining commons of Harpham and Attleburgh, on which they had all rights of inter-commoning with each other, the tenants of the three towns and others assembled together, and threw down the new ditches, and laid the whole open as heretofore; which being done, they all went home, and continued quiet till the 6th of July; at which time, taking the opportunity of the feast or fair which was yearly kept at Wymondham, which brought thither great numbers of country people to see the shew, they then consulted further upon their wicked enterprize; and going thither, entered into conference with great numbers of the country people there, and went to Morley, a mile from Wymondham, and cast down certain ditches of Master Hobart's, on the Tuesday, and returned that night to Wymondham again, where they practised the like feats: But as yet they took no man's goods by violence.

Upon this one John Flowerdew, Gent. of Hetherfet, finding himself agrieved by their casting down some of his ditches, came to some of the rebels, and gave them 40 pence to cast down the fences of an inclosure belonging to Robert Kett, a tanner of Wymondham, which pasture lay near the fairstead in Wymondham, which they did; and the next morning took their journey again to Hetherfet, at Kett's desire, and laid open master Flowerdew's inclosures there; upon which was much ado, for Flowerdew did what he could to cause them to desist, inso much that many sharp words passed between him and Kett; but Kett, being a man hardy, and fit for any desperate attempt, pushed forward, executed his will, and so he revenged himself upon Flowerdew, whose hedges and ditches were all thrown down and made plain. The rebels seeing Kett to be a resolute stout hearted fellow, unanimously chose him their captain and ringleader; who thereupon willed them to be of good comfort, assuring them he was resolutely determined to stand by them, and spend both his goods and life to revenge their liberty, which he pretended was much injured: To him was joined William Kett, his brother, a butcher of Wymondham, who by reason of his desperate hardiness was much valued by them: And now being furnished with such commanders, and forming themselves into a camp, at the report thereof, numbers of lewd and desperate persons came flocking from

from all parts to Ketts camp; so that being now guarded with sufficient power, and having wasted Hetherfet, Wymondham, and most of the adjacent villages, on the 10th day of July, they passed the river between Cringleford and Eaton. The city, hearing what route they intended shortly to take, had sent messengers the day before to the king's council at Windsor to inform them of it; and others to Sir Roger Townsend and Sir William Paston, to desire them to come to their assistance. The rebels, having passed the river, came to Bowthorp, and cast down certain hedges and ditches there; and their number being now vastly increased, they encamped there that night: Here Sir Edmund Windham, Knt. high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, came and proclaimed them rebels, and commanded them in the king's name to depart peaceably to their own homes: being greatly offended at the proclamation, they attempted to have got him into their hands; but, being well horsed, he valiantly broke through those that had encompassed him in; and, escaping from them, hastened with all speed to Norwich, which is about two miles distant: the same night great numbers of loose people, both from the city and country, came to them with weapons, armour, and artillery.

The day before they came hither, some of the city had thrown down the quickset-hedge, and filled up the ditches, that inclosed the common pasture of the city, called the Town-close, to keep in the citizens cattle going there, before their common neatherd, in which place the neat-cattle of the poor freemen of the city were pastured, and looked after by the neatherd, who received of every owner (by custom) a half-penny for every beast kept there; and so that fence, which had been raised for the common profit of the city, was thus cast down by the very persons whose interest it was made for; and scarce had they thrown down the ditch in the upper part of the Close, before a company of ill-disposed persons escaped secretly out of the city, and joined Kett; and his comrades. Thomas Codd, then mayor, fearing the ill consequence of this rebellion, summoned an assembly of the aldermen and principal citizens, and went with them to the camp, to try if he could persuade the rebels to desist from their dangerous enterprize; when he came there, he found them giving themselves to all manner of riot and excess: First he tempted them with money and fair promises to depart home, using what persuasions he could to reduce them to dutiful obedience; but finding all things ineffectual, and seeing that neither intreaty nor reward would avail, he returned to the city. After his departure, the rebels began to perceive, and were farther convinced of it, by certain
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men coming to them from the city with small boughs in their hands, which was the sign agreed upon, that if they remained any longer scattered one from another, they would without difficulty be vanquished; whereupon they went directly to Eaton wood, which having thoroughly viewed, and found inconvenient to pitch their camp on, they unanimously agreed to go immediately to Moushold, and presently sent to the mayor to request him to permit them to pass through the city to that place, it being their nearest way, promising to do injury to no man, but quietly to march through to the place appointed; but the mayor absolutely refused, threatening them, and telling them to what end such attempts would bring them; which, instead of terrifying them, made them the more obstinate, and so they continued that night in Eaton wood: The next day being on their march for Helleston bridge, sir Roger Woodhouse with seven or eight of his household-servants, came to them, bringing with him two carts laden with beer, and one laden with victuals; for recompence whereof, he was stripped of his apparel, had his horses taken from him, and whatever else he had, the rebels accounting the same a good prey; he himself was cruelly tortured, and cast into a ditch of — Mores's of Erlham by Helleston bridge, and was kept by them as a prisoner: Thence passing the river, by the said bridge, they came to master Corbet's house at Sprowston, which they intended to have burned; but being persuaded from it, they spoiled his goods; and lodging that night at Drayton, the next day went directly to Moushold; and coming to St. Leonards Hill, seized on the noble palace of Mount Surrey, and spoiled whatever they found in it, converting it into a prison, where they confined sir Roger Woodhouse, serjeant Catlyn, serjeant Gawdy, and other gentlemen whom they caught: Here they incamped, having the main river running between the hill, and the city, on the east and south part Thorpe village and wood, and on the north and north-east Moushold heath, which is in length and breadth at least four or five miles. The mayor and aldermen in the mean time took council together how to proceed in so dangerous a case, and opinions were very different: Some thought they were to be attacked immediately, arguing that if they were not repressed at the beginning, the destruction of the city must necessarily follow; others thought it best not to hazard such a doubtful push, without urgent necessity, it being only hastening their destruction if the rebels should get the advantage: In short, the result was to fortify the city, set watch and ward carefully, place the citizens upon the walls, and other convenient places of defence; and for other things, because by the law of raising force and arms it was provided that
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no bands be mustered, or forces raised, without the king's command, they resolved to wait the return of the messenger, to know his will and pleasure.

Besides this great camp there was a second formed (called the lesser camp) at Rising Chase, but by the diligence and policy of the justices and gentlemen of those parts they were speedily driven from thence; notwithstanding which, they re-assembled at Watton, and there remained about a fortnight, stopping the passages over the river at Brandon Ferry and Thetford; but at length, by Kett's order, they came and joined him at Mousehold.

As soon as the report of this great camp being fixed upon Mousehold reached Suffolk, the commons there got together in a great multitude, entered the Island called Lovingland, with intent to seize the town of Yarmouth; but by the diligence of the magistrates, and the courage of the townsmen, they were disappointed of their expectation; and taking another route they joined their chief captain on Mousehold.

The rebels in the mean time, to cloak their malicious purposes with a counterfeit shew of holiness, caused Tho. Coniers, minister of St. Martin's at the plain in Norwich, to say service morning and evening, forcing him to pray to God for prosperous speed in this their ungodly enterprize: Moreover they went about to join to their cause divers honest men, who were commendable for religion, doctrine, virtue, and innocency of life; among whom were Robert Watson, an excellent preacher, Tho. Codd mayor, and Tho. Aldrich of Mangreen-hall, a man beloved of all men: These three (tho' sore against their wills) they contrained to be present at all their consultations, and to take upon them the administration of all things with Kett; which indeed happened well for many, for when the principal conspirators stirred up the multitude to any wicked undertaking, which tended either to the spoiling of the city, fields or adjacent villages, the wise and careful diligence of these men often hindered the execution of it. And now Kett, growing bolder by meeting with no opposition, began to direct warrants, to fetch victuals into the camp, in the following form:

“ **W**E the king's friends and deputies do grant licence to all men,
 “ to provide and bring into the camp at Mousehold all manner
 “ of cattle and provision of victuals, in what place soever they may find
 “ the same, so that no violence or injury be done to any honest or poor
 “ man; commanding all persons, as they tender the king's honour and
 “ royal majesty, and the relief of the common wealth, to be obedient to
 “ us the governors, and to those whose names ensue.”

Signed, ROBERT KETT, &c.

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And now he, with two assistants chosen out of every hundred kept his courts under a tree termed the oak of reformation, where he pretended to do justice to all such as were summoned before him.

By virtue of commissions, many of the principal gentlemen of the county were fetched from their houses, brought to the camp, and there imprisoned, as though they had been guilty of great crimes; moreover, the hedges and ditches of commons inclosed were demolished, and many were charged and forced to assist in these things: The mayor, Mr. Watton, and Mr. Aldrich, were not only obliged to wink thereat, but sometimes to seem to consent thereto; for to have resisted them had been but folly, and the way to have put themselves in danger of destruction, and their country too. The city took what care they could to guard themselves, hoping daily for relief from council, without which they dare attempt nothing.

In the mean time the sedition increased daily, so much that by this time there were no less than 16000 of these rebels in the camp; who by the advice of their captain fortified themselves, providing powder, ball, and all manner of weapons, which they fetched out of ships, gentlemen's houses, shops, and other places where any was to be found; and withal spoiled the country of all the cattle, riches, and coin that they could lay their hands on.

Now, because many of them hid what they got, hoping hereafter to convert it to their own private use, Kett and the other governors by common consent decreed that some place should be fixed upon where they might do justice: Now the oak of reformation being an old tree, with large spreading boughs, they fixed on it cross balks and rafts, and roofed it over with boards; and from thence Kett, the mayor, Master Aldrich, and other gentlemen detained prisoners in the camp, heard and determined all complaints and disorders done among themselves.

The mayor, Master Aldrich, and others, would often go up into this tree, and endeavoured by all the persuasive and mild arguments they could think of to make them desist from this course, and leave off committing such outrages: There were also divers grave and learned divines that tried all ways possible to withdraw them from these wicked attempts, and to reduce them to peace and quietness. Mean time great plenty was in the camp, where a fat sheep was sold for a groat, but penury and misery in all other places.

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In this great calamity (notwithstanding the upbraiding of sir John Cheke, who knew little of the matter but by hearsay only) the mayor, aldermen, and principal citizens, with the city clergy, behaved with the utmost allegiance to the king, and the greatest prudence for the safeguard of their city and country; the former by consulting daily what was best to be done, and the latter by preaching by day in the camp and churches, and by watching in the night with armour on their backs; so that nothing that belonged to them as faithful subjects, and worthy ministers, was at any time omitted: So far were they from deserving that unjust censure of sir John's, that it was not the principal part of the city that were for the rebels, but only the scum of it, there being not one of any figure or character that sided with them, though indeed there was a great number of the populace that favoured them; and the state of the city was such, that it was not in the power of the magistrates to keep the city against them, as Exeter did, with whose conduct sir John upbraids this place; but it is evident, that had they been able to have done it before, they would have done it; for upon Succours coming, they immediately put themselves in a posture of offence; till which time it was impossible to do more than they did, which was to stand upon the point of defence.

At this time the wisdom, faithfulness, courage, and integrity of Dr. Matthew Parker, then professor of divinity, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, a native of this city, was very remarkable for minding to do the office and duty of a good pastor: One day going into the camp, he found Kett and his associates standing under the oak, communing of matters between themselves; at which time the noble courage of the mayor appeared, and his worthy voice was plainly heard, like a brave man; for upon Kett's being earnest with him to deliver up the keys of the city, and all his authority, and to resign the government of it into his hands, Codd stoutly answered, "He would give his blood and life out of his body, before he would by villany treacherously forsake the city, or thro' fear or cowardice wickedly cast off his allegiance to the king." The matter being thus debated, and night coming on, the doctor seeing the people over-charged with eating and drinking, and the heat of the sun, thought that good council and wholesome advice would be cast away upon such swine, and therefore wisely omitted saying any thing to them that day; so that leaving all things as he found them, full of fury and tumults, he returned to the city; the next day, which was friday, he and his brother Mr. Thomas Parker (who was afterwards mayor of Norwich).

wich) came early to the camp, where he found them all under the oak hearing prayers said by Mr. Coniers, their chaplain who was then reading the Litany. Dr. Parker thinking that time fit for his purpose, step'd up on the oak, and there made an excellent sermon, full of wisdom, modesty, and gravity: He wished them to have regard to themselves, and the common wealth, and leave off their rash enterprize, not distrusting the king's herald and messenger; but to shew such honour to his majesty now in his tender years, as they might enjoy him hereafter in his more ripe and flourishing state, being grown up in virtue to their great comfort. The company heard him attentively and willingly, standing round about him; but a lew'd fellow among them cried out, "How long shall we suffer this hireling doctor, who being waged by gentlemen is come hither with his tongue, which is fold and tied to serve their appetite? But for all his prating, let us bridle them, and bring them under the order of our law." Upon this, the people began to threaten the preacher, and say he should be brought down with arrows and javelins; and some were shot at him, which put him in great fear, and that was increased by the noise and clattering of weapons under him; but he was happily deceived in that point, for there was not a man that stood next him, under the compass of the tree, but what valued him exceedingly, and were glad of his coming hither, hoping his oratory might have some good effect: During this uproar, Kett's chaplain seasonably and wisely (though very abruptly) set the Te Deum, and with the help of some singing men then present performed it so elegantly, that the multitude (taken with the sweetness of the music) began by degrees to be appeased; and during the singing, the doctor withdrew to sing his part at home, and praise God for his great deliverance; for coming down from the oak, and taking his brother with him, he made what haste he could to the city: But as they were going down St. Leonard's Hill towards Pockthorp Gates, some of the rebels overtook him, and began to question him about his licence, desiring him to shew them what authority he had to preach? but he (knowing it in vain to reason with them) slipt away, and left his brother to argue out the matter. However, the very next day the doctor, going into St. Clement's church, took occasion, (from one of the lessons appointed to be read for the day) to expound somewhat concerning these wicked tumults, many of the rebels being present, who heard the end of his exhortation without interrupting him, though they seemed greatly offended at it; but staying for his coming out, they immediately followed him, and told him

him that they understood he had three or four able geldings which might serve the king, and therefore they charged him that immediately after dinner they might be ready for them to make use of: To which the doctor said but little, but went home, and forthwith ordered some of their shoes to be pulled off, and their hoofs to be pared to the quick, and then put on again; and others to be anointed with green ointment, as though they had been lame with travelling, and dressed with medicines: Then leading them to pasture, the rebels seeing some of their feet swaddled and anointed, and others lamish laid aside that design; and not long after, the doctor seeming to take a walk out of the Gates towards Cringleford Bridge, met with his horses and servants there, as he had ordered; and mounting, took his journey towards Cambridge with all possible speed, and luckily escaped thither out of all danger; though by the way he met with and saw divers of the rebels, playing their pranks in their usual outrageous manner.

By this time having spoiled the country gentlemen of their goods, they now began to attack their bodies, and bring them as prisoners into the camp; which caused such a general fear that many forsook their houses and estates; and changing apparel, lest they should be known in their flight, escaped by obscure paths, and hid themselves in caves of the earth and thick woods: Many who had horses and carts, they forced to carry provision to the camp; and others that had none of their own, were compelled to procure them elsewhere. Gentlemen were now daily taken and brought into the camp, bound fast with cords like so many villians: Some were kept in Norwich Castle, some in the Guild-Hall prison, and others were shut up in the earl of Surrey's house, as felons and thieves. Whenever they wanted money, which was often, if the mayor did not immediately supply them out of the common treasury, they threatened to burn and rife the city; which they had certainly done, if the diligence of the mayor had not prevented it.

Furthermore, to cloak their wicked actions under the king's authority, having seized several commissions sent from the king, directed to divers gentlemen in the country, authorising them to do their utmost endeavours to repress these commotions, in some of them they erased the names of the gentlemen, and inserted their own; and from others they took the seals, and placed them to forged commissions of their own making; and fixing them up in public places, deceived many ignorant people thereby, and drew them to their party.

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By this time their numbers being encreased to above 20000, they grew so disorderly that Kett the arch-rebel could not restrain them; and now they threaten all such citizens as were fled with their families, and all such as would not declare on their side, as open enemies, so that nothing but fire and sword was hourly expected. Whatever was brought into the camp was spent in a most gluttonous manner, insomuch that it seems almost incredible how so much could be devoured in so short a time, for besides swans, geese, hens, ducks, and all sorts of fowls without number, about 3000 bullocks and 20000 sheep were spent in few days. The gentlemen's parks were laid open and what deer they could get killed and brought hither; and such as they had a particular spleen against, they destroyed their woods and groves, by cutting down the trees therein. Sometimes they would bring the gentlemen out of prison, chained two and two together, as it were to judgment, before the tree of reformation, there to be tried by these governors, as if they had been guilty of heinous crimes; and when it was asked the commons what should be done with the prisoners? they would cry with one voice hang them! hang them! and if they were asked why they gave such rash judgment on those they never knew? they would roundly answer, that others cried the same, and that they did it to give their assent with them, though they could give no other reason but that they were gentlemen, and therefore (they said) not worthy to live.

Porters also were placed by them at all the city gates, and companies of the rebels to watch and ward at certain places; and the constables were made to provide and furnish them with what meat and drink they would have, at their own expence, even to the ruin of them.

And now one Wharton, a man of great courage, but not favoured by the people, was led to the castle, bound like a thief; and had there not been a great company of the rebels ordered by their captain to defend him, he had been slain by the unruly multitude; but neither his good behaviour to them, nor promises, nor the diligent care of the rebels that guarded him, could keep him from being stabbed in many places of his body with spears and pikes.

A lawyer also, who dwelt at Melton, was betrayed by a woman, and drawn out of a wood, where he had hid himself, and brought prisoner to the city, being hated by the commons, who esteemed him a subtle fellow: As they haled him along, the heavens thunder'd horribly, to the astonishment of them that heard it; and such mighty showers fell, mixed with hail, that

that the earth was covered very deep, not far from the tree of reformation, but this fearful tempest did not in the least ap-
pal or terrify them.

While the rebels thus raged abroad in the country, at Hingham, about 11 miles from Norwich, sir Edmund Knevet, Kt. with a small company of his own menial servants, set upon the night-watch of the rebels that were placed there, and brake through, overthrowing diverse of them; and had some of his own men also unhorsed, and in danger of being hewen in pieces among them; yet he recovered them, and escaped their hands through great manhood: after which good night's service, as they would have it esteemed, they repaired to their great captain Kett, to shew their hurts, and to complain of their griefs. It was talked among them, that they would go to Sir Edmund's house at Buckenham castle to assault it, and fetch him out of it by force; but some doubted it was too strong for them, it being a place of great strength at that time; and others feared sharp stripes if they should attempt that Exploit, being at least 12 miles from their main camp; and so that Enterprize dropt, the most part thinking it best to sleep in a whole skin.

It happened that Mr. Leonard Sotherton, a citizen of Norwich, fled to London for safety of his Life, the rebels having threatened him if they could get him; the council sent for him, and by him were informed of all their proceedings, and how they daily increased, and hourly threatened destruction to the city, and all gentlemen they could meet with; at the same time he told them, that he had heard say that there were many in the camp, who if they had any hope of the king's favour, and that they might escape unpunished, would willingly lay down their weapons, and embrace his majesty's pardon; and therefore he was in hopes that if the king sent down his pardon, and proclaimed it in the camp, that most of them would disperse; this advice being approved of by the council, who had their hands fully engaged other ways, a herald was sent with Sotherton directly to Norwich; and entering the camp, apparelled in his coat of arms, standing before the Tree of Reformation, he there declared with a loud Voice so that all about him might hear, "That the King had granted his free pardon to all that would depart to their homes; and laying aside their armour give over their traiterous begun enterprize" upon which, almost all the multitude cried "God save the king's majesty;" and at the renewing of that cry many kneeled down, and with tears in their eyes commended the king's mercy, which all would have embraced immediately, had not the wicked speeches of
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some of the rascally sort, and the traitorous persuasions of Kett himself, turned them from peace, and stayed them from their dutiful inclinations; for Kett very stoutly and fiercely answer'd, so that all might hear him, " That kings and princes were accustomed to grant pardons to such as are offenders, and not to others; and that he trusted he needed not any pardon, sith he had done nothing but what belonged to the duty of a true subject; and herewith he besought them not to forsake him, but to remember his promise, sith he was ready to spend his life in the quarrel." The herald hereupon called him traitor, and commanded John Petibone, Sword-Bearer of Norwich, to arrest him for treason, as a traitor to his majesty; upon which, so great a confusion followed among the multitude, that the herald saw Kett had so far enraged them that they would accept of no pardon: so that he departed from them, crying out with a loud voice, " All ye that be the king's friends come away with me;" then the mayor, and Master Aldrich, with a great number of other gentlemen that had been confined there, among which were the two brothers the Appleyards, and other honest Yeomen that were ready to obey the king, followed him; and entering the city by Bishop-gates, the mayor commanded them to be shut, because otherwise the rebels might have forthwith entered the city.

As soon as was possible the mayor caused all the gates to be shut, and the gentlemen imprisoned in the castle and elsewhere to be set at liberty; who where all summoned to consult with him and his brethren how they might defend the city from the rebels, and keep them from entering it by assault; And at last they determined to set watch and ward, day and night, on the walls and gates; and keep the city so close, that the means of transporting victuals for the camp being thereby cut off from that side of the river, the rebels might be wearied out, and obliged to decamp.

During this time, certain of the citizens that favoured the rebels had let a great number of them into the city; which raised such consternation, that it was thought safest for the gentlemen that had been let out of prison to be shut up again, least the rebels finding them abroad should murder them: But soon after it was perceived that they were returned to their camp, the same way they came; upon which the mayor and Aldermen immediately began to rampire up Bishop-gates, to plant what ordinance they had, and make all necessary provision for the defence of the city that was possible, placing 10 of the greatest pieces of ordinance against the enemy in the Castle-ditches, appointing

appointing watch and ward in all those places where the walls were decayed: The rest of the city forces were ordered to be ready at all times of the night, in the Market-place and cross streets of the city, for every occasion.

At length, having ordered things in this manner, they began to shoot off their artillery, both from the city and the camp, to annoy each other: But when the rebels saw that they did little hurt to the city with their ordinance lying upon the hill, they moved them down to the foot of it, and there began to play against the walls; which being perceived, at the mayor's command, the ordinance was brought down from the Castle-Ditches, and placed speedily in the meadows, which lie in the lowest part of the city; and so the greatest part of the night was spent in fearful shot on both sides.

But the worst evil the magistrates had to overcome, was the scum of the city that were in it, and were of the rebels side, in so great a number that their force was not sufficient to rule them; for they would go and come from the camp, in spite of the mayor and governors, and bewray whatever was done against their comrades.

By this time, as the mayor and citizens imagined, the camp began to be distressed for want of victuals; and in order the more commodiously to bring provision from the other side of the city, they sued for truce for a certain time, sending James Williams and Ralph Sutton, two of the vilest that the city produced, as their ambassadors from the camp, to the City-Gates, with a banner of truce in their hands; who were brought to the mayor and aldermen, of whom they demanded in capt. Kett's name "Peace and truce for a few days, whereby they might have liberty (as they lately had) to carry victuals through the city to the camp; which if they would not grant, they threatened to break into the city, and destroy it with fire and sword:" The mayor and aldermen flatly denied their request, protesting that they would not permit traitors to have any passage through their city. Upon this refusal, the rebels were so enraged, that (running down the hill) they made a violent assault upon Bishop-Gates; but were as bravely repulsed, and forced to retire: Yea, such rage appeared among them, that the boys and young lads shew themselves so desperate in gathering up the arrows, that when they felt them sticking in their bodies they would pluck them out, and give them to their bowmen to shoot again at the citizens. All this time the ordinance in the meadows did but little damage to the rebels, for want of sufficient powder, and skill in the gunners, though many of them were

wounded with the arrows, which flew very thick from the city; but yet so great was their fury, that the very boys (naked and unarmed) ran about provoking the citizens with reproachful speeches.

In the mean season, the rebels in the city, and those that favoured them, began a fearful uproar on the other side of the city, crying, to your weapons, to your weapons, for the enemies are entered the city! which wicked stratagem answered the design, for all the citizens left that side of the city and ran to the other, so that the part where the assault first began was left without defence; which the rebels seeing, renewed their assault; and the boys and country clowns, without fear, threw themselves into the river that runs before Bishop's-Gates; and, swimming cros, with swords, clubs, spears, staves, and javelins, made what few citizens were left there retreat; and then, pulling off the bars of the gates, let in the rebels; upon which the citizens withdrew to their houses, and other secret places, where they hoped best to hide themselves from the fury of their enemies, which they imagined would now be executed to the total subversion of the city.

The first thing they did, after they had thus entered by force, was to convey all the guns and artillery, and all other furniture of war whatever, out of the city to the camp, which was soon done; the boys and clowns mocking such citizens as they saw grieved, calling them traitors, cursing and reviling them.

The herald, who was still in the city, to see if the rebels would (before the day fixed for their pardons, which was not expired) give over their enterprize, came with the mayor and a great number of the citizens to the Market-place, and there declared to the populace in the King's name, "That all such as would lay aside their arms, and go home to their houses, should have a general pardon, but all the rest should be punished with death."

The rebels that stood by, and heard him, bad him depart with a mischief; for neither his fair offers, nor his sweet flattering words, should beguile them; for they detested such mercy, that under pretence of pardon would cut off their hope and safety and self-preservation: Upon which the herald departed, seeing nothing was to be done either through fear or punishment or hope of pardon, and returned to court. Upon this, Kett immediately ordered Leonard Sotherton (or Sutterton) to be brought before him, because he had accompanied the herald in his journey; but he fearing the matter, and being warned of it, was forced to hide himself in the city, among his friends
and

and kindred, as many other good men did. And now Kett took the mayor, Robert Watson, William Rogers, John Humbertson, William Brampton, and many others of the wisest and best men of the city, and imprisoned them in Surrey House, where some of them remained (laden with irons) till the last day of this conspiracy.

Kett perceiving that things were grown so desperate, that he must have either a bloody victory over his country, or else soon come to the shameful end he deserved, endeavoured all he could to draw a huge multitude together to increase his army; so that what by rewards, and fair promises, it is almost inconceivable to tell the numbers of rascally people that flocked to him from all parts on a sudden.

By this time the citizens began to be sore displeased, that their mayor (who was a man of remarkable honesty, and exceedingly beloved, not only by the better sort, but even by those that had joined the camp) should be so scandalously imprisoned, and remain in danger of his life, among the rebels, who began to threaten him sorely; and, jesting at his name, would say one to another, let us come together to-morrow, for we shall see a Codd's-Head fold in the camp for a penny, alluding to the mayor's name; whereupon the citizens, fearing lest he should be made away among them, came and complained unto Thomas Aldrich (whose authority was great among the rebels, he being a man they also loved) that they did not like such usage; and he immediately went to Kett, and (being backed by a number of the citizens, that were exceeding angry at the usage of their mayor) he sharply reprov'd him for his cruel dealing, in imprisoning so honest a man as the mayor was, and withal commanded him to release him; when either for shame, or fear of disobliging these citizens, he instantly set him at liberty, and permitted him to go all over the city, so that by his care and diligence many of the citizens were much comforted: But because he could not abide in it, being constrained to be the most part of his time in the camp, he made Augustine Steward his deputy, commanding him to take the charge of governing and defending the city in his absence; and he, with the assistance of Henry Bacon and John Atkins, then sheriffs, ruled the city right carefully, to their great credit, and kept all the citizens in order, except those unruly ones whom no good order could command.

During this time Kett and his companions used to make scorn and mock at such prisoners as they kept, and sometimes delivered them to the multitude for that purpose; and a day
was

was appointed when all the prisoners were to be brought out to the oak, there to be tried as they called it; and at the time Kett himself went up on the oak, and (setting down) there had the prisoners in order (one by one) called by their names, and then he enquired of his companions what they thought of them? These varlets being made inquisitors, and judges of the lives of those innocent gentlemen, if they found nothing against the man in question, they called out a good man, he is a good man, and therefore ought to be set at liberty; but if any small crime or dislike was but once named by any of them, they called out let him be hanged, let him be hanged, though at the same time they did not so much as know the man.

The council, being ascertained by the herald's return that nothing but force would quiet the Norfolk rebels, appointed William Parr, marquess of Northampton, an excellent courtier, and one more skilled in leading a measure than a march, with 1500 horsemen of the king's forces, to go down to Norwich, to attack the rebels, and defend the city: With him went the lord Sheffield, and the lord Wentworth; sir Anth. Denny, sir Henry Parker, sir Richard Southwell, sir Ralph Sadler, sir John Clere, sir Ralph Powlet, sir Richard Lee, sir John Gates, sir Thomas Paston, sir Henry Bedingsfield, sir John Siliard, sir William Waldgrave, sir John Cutts, sir Thomas Cornwallis, Knts. with a good number of other knights 'squires, and gentlemen; and a small band of Italians, under the command of Malatesta, an experienced soldier; which the rebels took advantage of, and filled the country with complaints, that these were part of the numberless foreigners to which England was going forthwith to be subjected, which made some of them more resolute than before.

The marquess, being now come within a mile of Norwich, sent sir Gilbert Dethick, Kt. who was then Norroy, and afterwards Garter King at Arms, to summon them within the city to yield it into his hands; or, upon refusal, to proclaim war against it. Augustine Steward, the deputy-mayor, sent to the mayor, who was now detained in the camp, to let him know what message he had received from the marquess; who returned answer, that all these confusions much grieved him; and more so, because he could not wait on him to deliver the city into his hands himself, being detained by a guard of the rebels in danger of his life; but having given his authority to Mr. Augustine Steward, a wise and careful man, least in his absence the people should fall away from their duty, he had ordered him to be ready to surrender it into his hands, and to submit

submit all things wholly to his lordship's order and disposition: This message being soon carried by Norroy, the deputy-mayor, sheriffs, and a great number of the chief citizens, went to the marquess's army, and delivered the sword to his lordship; declaring that the mayor himself would have gladly come, if he could have got from the rebels; and that although a great number of the scum and populace of the city were partakers with the rebels, yet the substantial and principal citizens never did nor never would consent to their doings, but were ready at all times to receive him into their city, and to obey him as the representative of the king himself.

Upon which the marquess comforted them with good words, telling them he hoped he should appease the troubles shortly. Then he delivered the sword, to sir Richard Southwell, who carried it bare-headed before the marquess into the city, which honour (by solemn and antient custom) is always given to the king's lieutenants: He made his entry at St. Stephen's Gates, and forthwith gave commandment that all the citizens should meet him in the Market-Place, where they consulted long, and many things were resolved upon, as well for the defence of the city for restraining the assault of the enemy. Immediately watch and ward was appointed for the walls and gates, and the weak places of the old walls were guarded by armed men day and night.

Things being thus ordered, the marquess, with the nobles and gentlemen, supped at the deputy-mayor's, and lodged there; but kept their armour on their backs all night, (though they were wearied with a troublesome journey of three days, and the heat of the weather) for fear of a sudden assault.

It happened (but whither by chance or appointment is not known) that the strangers went out, and offered skirmish to the rebels upon Magdalen-Hill: The rebels first came forth with their horsemen, who better understood plundering the country than fighting, for they were no match for the strangers; which their fellows seeing, they put their archers before their horsemen, designing to surround the strangers; but they perceiving their drift cast themselves into a ring, and retired into the city, leaving an Italian gentleman behind them, who had ventured too far, and (being unfortunately thrown from his horse) was taken, spoil'd of his armour, and (as a specimen how they would use others) hanged over the walls of Surrey house.

The watch being set, the marquess ordered the rest of the soldiers to be armed all night; and to make a huge fire in the Market-Place, which was appointed their general rendezvous

so that the streets might be light, least by darkness and ignorance of the place they should be inclosed in the night by their enemies.

Sir Edward Warner, marshal of the field, gave the watchword: Sir Thomas Paston, sir John Clere, sir William Waldgrave, sir Thomas Cornwallis, and sir Henry Bedingfield, men of approved value and wisdom, were dispersed in divers parts of the city for the defence thereof; who performed their parts nobly, going continually from place to place, encouraging and animating their men by their countenance, words, and their own travel and labour. Every thing being thus settled, the marquis and others at rest, about midnight the rebels, as if they designed to assault the city, discharged their artillery as thick as possible; but whither it was by the unskilfulness of the gunners, or whither they had taken money as some thought, they did little damage, the bullets passing over the city. The marshal, by reason of the continual alarms given by the watchmen, and the continuance of the discharge of the cannons, call'd up the marquis, as he had ordered him to do if any thing happened; who came presently into the Market place, with his nobles and gentlemen, and entered into consultation how to provide better for the defence of the city, finding by the slow return of his soldiers (which he began to perceive) that they were not sufficient for the guard of so large a place; and by general advice it was agreed, that all the gates on the other side of the city, from the enemy, and all the ruinous places of the walls, should be ramp'd up; concluding that there would not be wanting so many soldiers to defend the walls, but that the citizens might only watch them, and give notice in case of any danger that way: This was immediately put into execution, and nearly finished, when the whole rout of rebels came running with hideous shrieks and yells to the city, endeavouring to hew in pieces and fire the gates; some swimming over the river climb'd up the lowest places of the walls, others got in at the breaches; and so entered. The marquis's men did all that was possible to repel them: The fight lasted above three hours continually, in which the noble courage of Bedingfield, Cornwallis, Paston, &c. was very apparent, the rebels pushing forward to the utmost of their power; and being courageously resisted, were so desperate, that when they were thrust through their bodies or thighs, or their ham-strings cut asunder, tho' they were fallen down deadly wounded, would not give over; but half-dead, drowned in their own and other men's blood, would till the last gasp strike at their adversaries, when their hands

hands could scarce hold their weapons: But such was the bravery of the gentlemen and soldiers, that they were forced to retreat to their camp, having lost 300 of their fellows who were killed in the city in this engagement; and now at last, being secure from any farther practices of the enemy, they went to rest for that little time that remained proper for that purpose.

In the morning it was told the marquess, that the courage and resolution of many of the rebels was much abated, and that they might be easily persuaded to lay down their arms: if they were assured of pardon; there being no less than 4 or 5000 then waiting at Pockthorp Gates, who on such promise would return home, and submit to the king's mercy; which information made him exceeding glad: but Norroy and a trumpeter being sent to the gate, not a person was found there; however, upon the sound of the trumpet, a great number came running down the hill. One Flotman being their principal, whom the trumpeter commanded to stand, Flotman demanded what the matter was, and why they drew them to parley by sound of trumpet? To whom Norroy replied, "Go thy ways, and tell thy company from my lord marquess of Northampton, the king's majesty's lieutenant, that he commandeth them to cease from any further outrage; and if they will obey his commandment, all that is past shall be forgiven and pardoned." To which Flotman (who was an outrageous busy fellow, of a voluble tongue, ready for reproaches and arrogant speeches) presumptuously answered, that he cared not a pin's point for my lord marquess, and like a traitor railed upon his lordship, maintaining that he and the rest of the rebels were earnest defenders of the king's royal majesty; and that they had not taken up arms against the king, but in his defence; and that time would make it appear, that they fought nothing more than to maintain his royal estate, the liberty of their country, and the safety of the common-wealth; and then utterly refusing the pardon, told Norroy positively that they would either restore the common-wealth from the decay into which it was fallen, being oppressed through the tyranny and covetousness of the gentlemen, or else would die like men in the quarrel.

Scarce had he made an end, but an alarm was made through the whole city, the general cry being to arms! to arms! for at the instant these things were doing at Pockthorp gates, the rebels brake in at the Hospital meadows; and coming up Holme or Bishop-street, attacked the marquess's ordinance, that was placed on St. Martin's Plain, at the mouth or entrance thereof, in which place there ensued a sharp conflict between the

the rebels and the marquis's men: There were slain of the rebels about 140, and great numbers wounded; and of the king's soldiers and city forces about 50, or somewhat more, besides a great number wounded. The skirmish continued from about nine o'clock on Lammas-day morning, being the 1st of August, till noon the same day, in which the miserable death of the lord Sheffield was lamented and pitied of all men, who more mindful of his birth and honour than of his own safety, desirous to shew proof of his noble courage, entering among the thickest of his enemies, and fighting too boldly, though not so warily as was expedient, fell into a ditch or hole as he was turning his horse; and being compassed about with a great number of these horrible traitors, was there slain, although he declared who he was, and offered largely to the villains if they would have saved his life; and as he pulled off his helmet, that it might appear who he was, a butcherly knave (one Fulke, who by occupation was both a carpenter and butcher) knock'd him on the head with a club, and so killed him, of which he much vaunted afterwards, and so it came to be known who it was committed this barbarity, for which afterwards by the judgement of God the villain had his deserved reward: The place where he fell is distinguished by a large freestone laid there.

In relation to this affair, the aforesaid sir John Cheke expostulates with the rebels thus: "How was the lord Sheffield handled among you, a noble gentleman and of good service, both fit for counsel in peace and conduct in war, considering either the gravity of his wisdom, or the authority of his person, or his service to the common wealth, or the hope that all men had in him, or the need that England had of such, or among many notably good, his singular excellency, or the favour that all men bear towards him, being loved of every man, and hated of no man?"

"Ye slew him cruelly, who offered himself manfully, and would not so much as spare him for ransom, who was worthy for nobleness to have had honour; and hewed him bare, whom you could not hurt armed; and by slavery slew nobility, in deed miserably, in fashion cruelly, in cause devilishly. Oh! with what cruel spite was sundred so noble a body from so godly a mind? whose death must rather be revenged than lamented, whose death was no lack to himself but his country, whose death might every way been better borne than at a rebel's hands. Violence is in all things hurtful, but in life horrible."

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With him died diverse other gentlemen and worthy foldiers, who were buried the same day with him at St. Martin's on the Plain, which church is jutt by the place they fell; and among other Robert Wollvaston or Wolverston, who was appointed to keep the entrance into the Cathedral, was killed by the same Fulke, who took him for sir Edmund Knevet, against whom they bare great malice, because he gave them all the disturbance he possibly could.

The rebels puffed up with the death of the lord Sheffield, who was a person they greatly feared, by reason of the character he had for his great courage, making an alarm on every side, got into the city every way they could; and so overcharged the forces with numbers, being above 20000 to 1500, that they caused the marquis and his people to give way, and forsake the city; every man making the best shift he could to save himself, either by speedy flight, or by hiding themselves in private places, as woods, groves, caves, and such like: But yet diverse gentlemen of good account, as Bedingfield, Cornwalcis, and others who remained behind, abiding the brunt, were taken prisoners and kept in strict durance till the day of the rebels overthrow by the earl of Warwick.

The marquis being thus beaten out of Norwich, with the Residue, that escaped, hasted to London, leaving the city in the rebels power: many of the chief citizens fled, leaving their wives, children, and all their possessions in their enemies hands; having hid their gold, silver, and good household-stuff, in privies, wells, and pits digged in the ground.

After the Earl's departure, the same day they threw fire upon the tops of the houses, which flew from house to house with fearful flames, and in a small time consumed great part of the city; for all the houses in Holme-street were consumed with fire, and both sides thereof; with St. Giles's Hospital, which was dedicated to the relief and maintenance of the diseased-poor; Bishop-Gates, Magdalen, Pockthorp, Bear-street-Gates, and diverse other buildings in many places were burnt; and had not the clouds by God's special providence commiserated the city's calamity, and melting into tears quenched the flames, the whole city had been laid in ashes, for the plenty of rain that fell then in a great measure quenched the fire.

The rebels entered the houses of such as were known to be wealthy, and thoroughly rifled them: in short, the state of the city was as miserable as can be expressed.

The mayor's deputy would not leave the city, but kept in his house, not daring to stir out or attempt to stay them. And

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now another band brake in at St Martins Gates, and (armed with clubs and such weapons as they could get) attempted to break open the Deputy's house, and at last began to fire the door; upon which, being alone, his servants having fled from him, he opened it; and they immediately seized him, pluck'd off his gown which he used at that time; calling him rebel, threatening him with a most shameful death if he did not tell them where the marquess of Northampton was hid; and though he positively assured them that he and all his company were gone, they ransacked every hole in the house; and taking what they found, went their way laden with the spoil: But yet many of them, partly pacified for a piece of money and other things which they received of the deputy, and partly reproved for these wrongs by some of credit among them, brought again such packs and burdens as they had trussed up, and threw them into the shops of those houses out of which they had taken them before; nevertheless many were spoiled of all they had, by the rebels entering their houses under pretence of seeking for the marquess's men; but the houses of those that fled were quite ransacked, for they called them traitors and enemies to their king and country that had thus forsaken their houses in such time of necessity. Now some of the citizens ordering the furious multitude bread and drink, and all kind of victuals, the hungry wretches were somewhat appeased; but yet many sustained such injury, and were overcharged with such great expences, that as long as they lived they were forced to fare the worse for it in their household affairs.

The rebels by this time reduced from such extreme violence, began to think of their own safety; and commanded the deputy and chief of the city that were left in it, that watch and ward should be hourly kept at the gates and walls by the citizens themselves, threatening them with death if they omitted it. Moreover, whenever it rained, they would Kennel up themselves in the churches, abusing those holy places appointed for God's service and worship with all manner of vile prophaneations.

And thus things continued till the 24th of August, being St. Bartholomews-day, when John Dudley, earl of Warwick, by the king's command, with a good force of soldiers, raised in Lincolnshire and other shires of the kingdom, and also a good number of Switzers, which had been purposely provided for the Scotch war, entered Norwich; for his majesty perceived the rebels were got to such a head, that without a main army, guided by a general of experience and conduct, it would be
very

very hard to subdue them; and therefore this earl (who was just before appointed to go into Scotland against the French and Scots) was sent hither, whose manhood, courage, and experience in all warlike enterprizes, had been sufficiently tried and known, it being thought if he could not suppress them nobody could.

The earl then his army being ready, marched to Cambridge; where the marquess of Northampton (desirous to be revenged for his late repulse) met him, being resolved to attend him, and try whether he could be more fortunate in following than in leading; and with him were many other gentlemen, with divers of the principal citizens of Norwich; the lords Willoughby Powes, and Bray; Ambrose Dudley, then son to and afterwards Earl of Warwick; and Robert Dudley, his brother, afterwards earl of Leicester; Henry Willoughby, Esq. Sir Tho. Gresham, Sir Marmaduke Constable; William Devereux, son to the lord Ferrers of Chertsey; Sir Edmund Knevet, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Andrew Flammock, and many other knights, squires, and gentlemen; who all tried their manhood, and behaved gallantly when time and occasion was given them.

The citizens meeting the earl at the entrance of Cambridge, fell upon their knees at his feet, and (weeping) earnestly intreated him to lay nothing to their charge, for they and all the chief of the city were innocent, and guilty of no crime; yet they besought his favour and mercy, for they had verily conceived incredible grief for this miserable destruction and spoil of their city and country; and had further endured all extremity at the rebels hands, being obliged for safety of their lives to fly the city, out of which they were forced by fire and sword, from their wives, children, and all their friends; and in this so great misery they had this only to crave, that if in this common and exceeding fear, through ignorance or folly, they had unknowingly committed any offence, the same might not be imputed to them, but upon this their humble petition and repentance it might be pardoned.

The earl answered, that he perceived how great peril they were in; and that without doubt great was the strength of those desperate men, who had driven them from all things as dear to them as life itself; affirming they had done nothing amiss to his knowledge, for in that they left the city, compelled by fear and such imminent danger, it was only an infirmity easily excusable: Notwithstanding in one thing he said he imagined they were somewhat overseen, that they did not withstand resolutely those evils at the very beginning, for he supposed a few

few valiant and wise men might have dispatched those companies in a moment, if they had attacked them resolutely at the first rise.

And now granting them all pardon, and assuring them of the king's favour, he commanded them to furnish themselves with armour and weapons, and march forth with the army, wearing certain laces and ribbons about their necks to distinguish them from others.

The earl marched directly from hence to Windham, and got thither on the 22d day of August; and as he came along, the most part of the Norfolk gentlemen that were not imprisoned by the rebels came to him, with which he was exceedingly pleased.

On the 23d day of August he shewed himself upon the plain between Norwich and Eaton Wood, and lodged that night at Sir Thomas Gresham's seat at Intwood, about four miles from Norwich: On this plain the army rested that day and night, the men being all the while ready armed for battle, lest the enemy should raise any sudden tumult, for they plainly perceived them in the walls and Towers endeavouring to make what defence they could.

While the army laid here, the Earl sent the aforesaid Norroy to summon the city, either to open the Gates that he might quietly enter, or else look for war, and a forcible assault, and such a reward as rebels deserve.

All this time Kett had been getting what power he could together, and consulting how to defend himself and his rascally crew; and when he was informed the herald was at the gates, he obliged Augustine Steward the mayor's deputy, and Robert Rugg who was mayor the next year, as two of the chiefest citizens, to go to him to know his errand: These being let out at Brazen-Doors, and hearing his message, answered, " that they believed they were the miserablest men then living, having suffered such calamities they could not but tremble at the remembrance of; and that now they could not fulfil their loyalty to their prince, which brought them into the unhappy dilemma of either losing their lives or their good names; but hoped his majesty would pardon them, as they had not consented to any thing of this rebellion, but with loss of goods and peril of life (as far as it was in their power) had done their utmost to keep the citizens in good order and dutiful obedience. But one thing more they humbly requested of my Lord Warwick, that whereas there was great numbers of Kett's army poor and naked, running about the city without

" without armour or weapons, which seemed as if they were
 " weary of their doings, that it would please him once more to
 " offer them the king's pardon, and they hoped it would be
 " gladly accepted, that so any more bloodshed might be avoided."

Norroy returned to the Earl, who fearing least the rebels should murder the gentlemen they had in prison, if they came to a battle, resolved to try this way; and sent Norroy again, with a trumpet, to offer them a general pardon; who entering the city, met with about 40 of the rebels on horseback; and riding two and two and together, very pleasant and merry, they passed from St. Stephen Gates (where he entered) unto Bishop-Gates: The trumpeter there sounded, upon which the rebels flocked down the hill, and the horsemen ran swiftly to them, commanding them to divide themselves, and stand in order on either side of the way; and as Norroy and the trumpeter with two of the chief citizens entered between them, they were received on every side with great shouts and outcries for every one uncovering their heads, as it were with one mouth and consent, cried out, God save king Edward! God save king Edward! Norroy and the two citizens highly commended them for so doing, desiring them to keep place and order, as they were commanded by their own men, which they did for a while: Norroy having got on the top of the hill, with his coat of arms on, as solemn ensigns of his office, staid a while for Kett, who was not yet come; and at last he began to remind them of the king's gracious goodness, who had several times by heralds and others promised them pardon, if they would return to their obedience, all which they had refused, and despised his messengers; he willed them to consider into what misery and decay they had brought that common wealth, the good of which was so often in their mouths; and then discoursing of their horrible murders, riots, burnings, and other crimes, he desired them to consider into what abundant mischiefs they had brought themselves, and what they must expect from the wrath of God, and the king's army, now ready to execute it, and which they could not withstand, if they did not accept of the king's gracious pardon, which he then by him offered to them all, assuring them that he had sent the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Warwick, a man of noble fame and approved valiancy, as his lieutenant-general, to prosecute them with fire and sword, and not to desist till he had subdued them, and revenged him on them for all their treasons and wickednesses; and he also told them, that the Earl designed to offer them pardon no more, if they now refused it.

Many

Many of them were now touched with remorse and began to fear the event of things; but the greater part were much offended at Norroy's speech, and began to prate that he was not the king's herald, but one set out by the gentlemen in such a gay coat, made of church vestments, and things taken thence, to deceive them, under notion of pardon, and therefore it would be well done, either to thrust him through with an arrow, or hang him up; others at the same time seemed to reverence him, and diverse that had served in Scotland, and at Bulloign, assured their fellows, that he was the king's herald indeed; upon which they pretended no more to offer him any injury, though they then said instead of pardon, there was nothing prepared for them but a barrel full of halters. Norroy departing thence, and Kett with him, came to another place, and because the multitude was so great that he could not be heard by all from one place, he again made the same proclamation; before the end of which, a vile boy turn'd up his bare buttocks to him, with words as unseemly as his gesture was filthy, in reproach of his majesty and his officer; which so moved one of the king's friends, for some were come over the water to view things, that he directly shot the boy through the body upon the spot. Which when the rebels saw, a dozen of them came riding furiously out of the wood, crying, "We are betrayed, friends; we are betrayed, if you look not about you! Do you not see how our fellows are slain with guns before your faces? This herald goeth about nothing else but to bring us in danger of some ambush, that the gentlemen may kill and beat us all down at their pleasure. And thereupon they all shrunk away, and fled as if they had been out of their wits. Nevertheless the chief leader Robert Kett accompanied Norroy, designing as was said to go himself to the earl of Warwick, and to have talked with him: But now when they were come almost to the bottom of the hill, a multitude of the rebels came running and crying to him, asking him whither he went; we are ready (said they) to take such part as you do, be it never so bad; assuring him they would stand by him both in life and death, and that if he went any further they would surely follow him; upon which Norroy desired Kett to return with them into the camp, which he did, and they went back with him much appeased.

In the mean time, as the army laid before the city towards the South, came certain to view it; and with them came both the mayor and Thomas Aldrich, who by policy were let out of the gate, repairing to the Earl, and craving pardon, which they obtained, and were appointed to remain with them. Now the
Earl,

Earl, seeing nothing would avail but force, brought his army to St. Stephen's Gates, which the rebels had stopped up, and let down the Portcullis; wherefore he commanded the master gunner to plant the ordinance, and beat down the gate for the soldiers to enter by; which while they were doing, the deputy informed the Earl that not far off was a Postern Gate, called Brazen-Doors, which tho' the enemy had fasten'd with great beams and pieces of timber, and rampir'd up with earth and stones, might very easily be broke open; upon which the pioneers are sent for, who immediately open'd it, and there the Earl's forces first enter'd, and slew those rebels that stood to defend it, and made the enemy retreat from thence; and in the interim the master gunner had broken the Portcullis of St. Stephen's Gates, and battered them half-down; and the soldiers had made several breaches in the walls, between St. Stephen's and St. Giles's Gates, to enter by: At these places the marshalls of Northampton, and captain Drury alias Poignard, a man of great valour, entered with their bands, and slew and wounded so many of their enemies that the rest retired hastily to their camp; and by this time, by the good management of the deputy, St. Bennet or Westwick Gates were set wide open, thro' which the Earl of Warwick himself and his main army enter'd, and came into the Market-Place, without any resistance: Here they took 60 of the rebels, and erecting a gallows by the cross hung them up. Then the Earl presently commanded proclamation to be made through the whole city, that all the inhabitants should keep within, having their shops and doors fast barred, on pain of death; which was obeyed by all, except the son of one Wasey a cobbler, who with two or three more were found in the Market-place, and hanged up for their folly: This was wisely done, for thus the Earl knew who were concerned in the rebellion and who not. Upon this many came and obtained pardon, and as they were commanded barred up themselves, and thought they were well off. The Earl finding the Market-place very spacious, made it his head quarters.

All this while the carriages belonging to the army were entering at St. Bennet's Gates, and (for want of order being given to the drivers where to stop) they ignorantly went thro' the whole city out at Bishop Gates, directly towards the enemy's camp at Mousehold; which the rebels seeing, came down, seized on them, and carried them (laden with guns, powder, and other ammunition) into their camp, greatly rejoicing, because they had no store of such things among them: However, captain Drury coming with his band in good time fortunately recovered some of the carts, not without slaughter on either side.

The

The rebels being not yet fully driven out of the city, began to form a sort of a camp on Tombland, and to lay wait in the lanes and cross streets with intent to kill the Earl's men unawares, who by reason of the spaciousness of the city were ignorant of the ways; some of them stood at St. Michaels at Plea, others at St. Simon's, others at St. Peter's of Hungate, and others in Wymer-street by St. Andrew's Church, ready for battle; and setting upon some of the Earl's men, slew three or four gentlemen before any help could come: News being carried of it to the Earl in the Market place, he passed forward out of the Market by St. John's of Maddermarket church, and turned into Wymer or St. Andrew's street, with the main body of his forces; and when they were got to St. Andrew's church, the enemy let fly a cloud of arrows; but capt. Drury came a second time very opportunely with his band of Harquebusiers, young men of excellent courage and skill, who paid them so home with such a terrible volley of shot that they fled in a moment, leaving 130 of their companions dead on the spot; and diverse of them being found creeping in the church-yards, were taken and executed; all the rest fled to their camp, and the city was quite hid of them, to the great comfort of the inhabitants.

The Earl now began to give order to fortify the city, furnished the walls with soldiers and other munition, fit to repulse an enemy; placed a guard of armed soldiers in every street; blocked and rampir'd up all the gates, decay'd walls, &c. except those next the enemy; and out of Bishop-Gates he placed great ordinance ready charged, to be conveyed the next day to Mousehold.

But the rebels understanding the Earl wanted powder, and other things belonging to the great ordinance; and seeing the Welchmen who were appointed to guard the artillery were very few in number, and not able to resist any sudden force that should come down upon them; they rushed altogether from the hill, attacked the guards, who (astonished at such an onset) were compelled by force to flee, and leave the artillery a prey to the enemies, all which they carried into their camp. One Myles, a skilful gunner and bold rebel, watching his opportunity, shot the king's master-gunner, through the head in this skirmish. This was a matter of great importance, for now the rebels were furnished with those very instruments of war that the Earl wanted, and Kett's gunners were continually discharging the cannons upon the city; and those iron balls which they had taken batter'd it most grievously, many being slain with the shot: Great part of the wall and the tower on Bishop-Gates were

were beat down. And had it not been (by God's providence) the gunners were rash and ignorant, and levelled their ordinance too high, considering the hill they stood on, the city had been beaten down to the ground in a short time; but greater had this day's loss been, if captain Drury by his valour, and slaughter of his men, had not put the rebels to flight, and by chasing them recovered the greatest part of the provision they drove away. After this, Warwick rampir'd up all the gates, placed armed guards at every corner and passage of the streets, brake down White Friers Bridge to stop all communication that way, appointed the Lord Willoughby with a great number of soldiers to defend Bishop-Gate and that part of the city, and so provided against any sudden assault, and cut off all communication with the enemy. But notwithstanding this,

The next day, being the 25th of August, the rebels passed the river at Conisford, burnt most part of all the houses of two parishes, and many in the neighbouring ones, with all the granaries at the Common Staithe; which, with the corn and other merchandizes, there laid in readiness for exportation at Yarmouth, were quite consumed; the rebels intending either thus to burn the whole city, or if the Earl's forces had gone to extinguish the fire, then to have cast down the rampire and open the gates, and so to have distressed the scattered forces; but the Earl dreading it, let the fire go on till the citizens extinguished it after an incredible damage.

Things falling out thus unfortunately on the Earl's side, there were some in the Earl's army who (despairing of success) began to persuade him, that since the city was large, the walls and gates broken and burnt down, and their number of soldiers but few, for as yet the appointed number neither of English nor foreign forces were come, that he would leave the city. The earl being of noble courage, and not able to bear the least spot of reproach, or lose the least honour, smartly answered "Why and do your hearts fail you so soon? Or are you so mad withal to think that so long as life is in me I will consent to such dishonour? Should I leave the city, heaping up to myself and likewise to you such shame and reproof as worthily might be reputed to us an infamy for ever? I will rather suffer whatever fire and sword can work against me." And drawing his sword the rest of the nobles with him did the same: Then he commanded them to kiss one another's swords, according to an ancient custom used in war in time of great danger? and herewith they made a solemn vow, and bound it with an oath, never to leave the city till they had either vanquished the rebels

or died in the fight manfully, for the honour of their king and country.

While this was doing, the rebels brake into the city on the north side, between Magdalen and Pockthorp Gates, where they were not suspected; but were repulsed by the foldiers, so that they run headlong back again, many being wounded, and several fell down and were slain; but not without loss on the Earl's side of Mr. George Hastyngs, three of capt. Drury's gunners, and another gentleman, who were all buried at St. Martin's on the Plain, as were six others on the same day in Mr. Spencer's garden.

The next day, being the 26th of August, 1400 Switzers, good and valiant foldiers, came from London, and entered Norwich, and were received by the Earl's forces with many vollies of shot for joy; they being divided by parishes, were liberally invited, and courteously entertained by the citizens, as the foldiers were the whole time; the hearts of the people being revived, and the rebels confounded with fear at this doubtful knowledge of their future overthrow: However, being ascertained that the next day they might fight it out, trusted to certain vain prophecies and superstitious rhymes that they had among them, which were rung in their ears every hour, as

The country Gnoffs, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
With clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill the Vale
Of Duffin's Dale
With slaughter'd bodies soon.

Fed therefore with this vain belief, they forsook that advantageous hill that in a great measure had enabled them by its situation to do the damage that they had done, and where the Earl's horsemen would have been of little service: Trusting in these follies for success, and resolving to end the matter before famine obliged them to disperse, for the Earl had so stopped up the passages that no victuals could come to their camp, and the want thereof began already to pinch them, they fired all their cabbins, huts, and tents, which they had built of timber and bushes upon the hills, which almost darkened the sky with smoak; and with 20 ancients and ensigns of war marched for the adjacent valley called by that name, and there presently intrenched themselves, threw a ditch cross the highways, and cut of all passage, pitching their javelins and stakes in the ground before them.

The

The Earl of Warwick perceiving their doings, the next day being the 27th of August, setting his army in order, he marched out at Cossany, now St. Martin's at the Oak gates, with the Marquess of Northampton, Willoughby, Powis, Bray, Ambrose, Dudley, and the other valiant and noble gentlemen, a very choice company, the Almaines, with capt. Drury's band, and all the horse men, marching directly against the enemy. Yet before the army came in sight of the rebels, Sir Edm. Knevet, and Sir Thomas Palmer, Knts. were sent to acquaint them, that such was the incredible mercy of the king, that if they would repent and lay down arms, he would freely grant his pardon to all except one or two of them, but all refused it. Upon which the Earl, having given orders to both horse and foot, gave the sign to begin the battle: The rebels perceiving the attack coming, placed all their gentlemen prisoners, bound with fetters, and chain'd together, in the front of the battle, to the end they might be killed by their own friends, who came to seek their deliverance; but now, though it be true as David saith, that the sword devoureth one as well as another, yet so discreetly did capt. Drury charge the van of the rebels, that most of those innocent prisoners escaped. Miles the Rebels master gunner levelled a cannon, and discharging it struck the king's standard-bearer through the thigh with an iron bullet, and the horse he rode on through the shoulder, so that both died; which so vexed the Earl, and exasperated his army, that he caused a whole volley of artillery to be shot off at the rebels; and herewith capt. Drury with his own band, and the Almaines or Launce-Knights (call them which you will) being on foot, getting near the enemies, saluted them so severely with their Harquebut-shot, and thrust forward upon them with their pikes so strongly, that they brake their ranks asunder; by which means the gentlemen prisoners shrank on one side, and most escaped their intended danger, though some few were slain by the Almaines and others that knew not who they were. The Earl's light horsemen by this means came in so roundly, that the rebels not able to abide their valiant charge were put to flight, and ran away like a flock of sheep, and with the foremost their grand captain Robert Kett galloped away as fast as his horse could carry him: The horsemen that chased slew them in heaps, as fast as they overtook them, so that (the chase continuing for three or four miles) there were slain at least 3500; besides a great number that were wounded as they fled, seeking to escape out of danger. Thus (as Fuller says) Rage was conquered by courage, rebellion by loyalty, and number by valour.

Valour. Yet one part of them, the last litter of Kett's kennel, that had not been assailed at the first onset, seeing such slaughter made of their fellows, kept their ground by their ordinance, determining as men desperate not to die unrevenge'd, but to fight it out till the last: They were so inclosed with their carts, carriages, and trenches they had cast up, that it had been something dangerous to have assailed them within their strength. The Earl being merciful, a sure token of true bravery, sent Norroy with promise of pardon of life, if they would lay down their weapons; if not, he would destroy every one of them: They answered, that could they be sure of their lives they would willingly do it; but took it only as a stratagem to get them into the gentlemen's hands, who they well knew would hang them all. Upon which the Earl gets his army, into battle-array against them, and just before the onset sent to know whether if he came himself, and assured them of pardon, they would submit; to which they presently answered, they had such confidence in his honour, that if he would promise them the king's pardon, they would in an instant lay down their arms, and rely on his and the king's mercy: Upon which he went directly to them, ordered Norroy to read the king's commission openly on the spot, because therein was pardon promised by the king, to all that would lay down their weapons; which being heard, they all thankfully cried, God save king Edward! God save king Edward! And so by the Earl's wisdom and compassion were many saved, and more bloodshed avoided.

The battle being ended, all the prey the same day was given to the soldiers and sold openly in the Market-place.

Thus were the rebels subdued by the valiant Earl of Warwick, and the other nobles and gentlemen of the country, but not without loss of diverse worthy persons (both gentlemen and some of the chief citizens) in the heat of the fight; besides abundance of the meaner sort; namely, Henry Willoughby Esq. of Willoughby in Nottinghamshire, son of sir Edward Willoughby of the same, and father of Francis Willoughby of Wollerton in the said county; a man so well beloved in his country for his liberal housekeeping, great courtesey, upright dealing, assured steadfastness in friendship, and modest behaviour, that the country where he lived lamented his loss exceedingly: There fell also Master Lucie, Esq. Giles Forster, Esq. and Master Throckmorton, gentlemen of no small worship in their countries; with Henry Wilby, Esq. Thomas Lynye, Esq. and many others. Four of these were buried in the Chancel of St. Simon and Jude's church, and all in one grave.

The

The remaining rebels that submitted, and all those that were brought in prisoners, which were very many, to keep them from making head again, were confined this night under guards of soldiers, in the public-buildings, and some churches of the city, by the provident command of the Earl, in order to receive judgment, and have their fines and Amerciaments set on them for their heinous offences.

The next day, being August 28, Tidings was brought the Earl that the arch rebel Kett had rode so fast that his horse tired, fell down in the flight; and that creeping into a barn of one Mr. Richers of Swannington, two of his servants seized him, and carried him into their master's house, who kept him there in hold for his lordship; upon which the Earl sent 20 horsemen immediately, and brought him to Norwich. And the same day the Earl and others sat in Judgement at the castle, taking examinations to find who where the principal beginners and promoters of this unhappy rebellion; and diverse being found guilty, nine of the principals (the two Ketts excepted) were executed on the oak of reformation, which never till then deserved that name; among which were two of their prophets, Rugg and Wilse, and Miles the cunning canoneer; who was much lamented, because remorse kept him from doing much mischief to the city, which his cunning enabled him to have done; being hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, the usual death of traitors. In this manner they were first hanged up, then presently cut down, and falling on the earth their privities were cut off; then their bowels pulled out alive, and cast into a fire; their heads cut off, and their bodies quartered; their heads being fixed on the tops of the city-Towers, and their quarters hung on the gates and other public places, for a terror to others: Thirty were hang'd, drawn, and quarter'd, at the gallows out of Magdalen-Gates; in all about 300 were executed, of which 49 suffered in like manner at the cross in the Market.

The gentlemen who had been thus misused endeavoured to stir up the Earl to execute a greater number of them, and constrained him to say openly " There must be measure kept in all things, and especially in punishment with death we ought to beware that we do not exceed: I know well such wicked doings deserve no small revenge, and that the offenders are worthy to be most sharply chastized. But yet, how far shall we go? shall we not at last shew some mercy? is there no place of pardon? what shall we do then? shall we hold the plough ourselves, and harrow our own lands?"

Now

Now when information was laid against some of the chief rebels that surrender'd to the Earl that they were busy ringleaders, and some of the worst of them, and therefore ought to suffer; upon Norroy's telling him that on the offer of pardon they first submitted, he declared that none to whom he had given his promise of pardon should suffer. And this night the bodies of the slain were buried, lest their smell should breed an infection.

On the day following, being the 29th of August, the Earl, Lords, and gentlemen, with the citizens, repair'd to the church of St. Peter's Mancroft, and gave praises and thanks to God for their late success; and it was resolv'd that the 27th of August should be annually set apart as a day of thanksgiving in this city for their great deliverance.

The citizens filled with no less joy than the Jews when they had escaped the sword of wicked Hamon unanimously extolled Warwick for his great courage; attributing to his wisdom and good conduct the preservation of their lives and families, and all their possessions; setting up over the gates of the city, and their own gates and doors, the Ragged Staff, which was the cognizance or badge of that Earl.

Robert Kett, and William Kett his brother, were carried to London, and committed to the Tower; and being shortly after arraigned of their treason, and found guilty, were brought to the Tower again, and there remained till the 29th of November; on which day they were deliver'd to Sir Edm. Windham, high sheriff of Norfolk and Suffolk, who brought them down, the one to Windham, and the other to Norwich, where deserved punishment was executed upon them both; for Rob. Kett, the captain of these rebels, was carried to the castle, had chains put on him, and (a rope being fixed about his neck) was drawn alive from the ground up to the gibbet, placed upon the top of the castle, and there left hanging, in remembrance of his villainy, till his body being consumed at last fell down; and William his brother was executed in the same manner at Windham, on the top of the steeple there, and was there hanged in chains as his brother was at Norwich; and thus by God's mercy, and the Earl's courage, this fearful rebellion ended; though it appears from the book of the court of mayoralty, by the entries there made between 1549 and 1554, that the rebellious stomachs of the common people here was not so soon brought down as their camp was dispersed.

The Earl staid in the city 14 days, and having settled all things as well as could be, commanded them to repair their city,

city, an act by virtue of the king's commission till their charter was renewed, it being voided, and the city in the king's hands from the time the sword was delivered to the marquis; and so taking leave of them, was attended out of the city liberties by the mayor, &c. with great honour and much praise; and on the 7th or 8th day of September he set out for London, where he was honourably received at court, with thanks from the king and nobles for his great service,

And now they began to repair their gates, one of the Folding-doors of St. Stephen's was made new, Pockthorp and Bishop-Gates were made of the timber which came from White Friars bridge when it was pulled down: the Tower at Bishop Gate, and the stone work at all of them was repair'd; Magdalen Gate was made new; Brazen-Door had the rampart taken from its outside, and laid on each side in the ditch, to enlarge the passage; White Friars bridge was rebuilt of timber, to which Mr. Codd the mayor contributed much; the Town Close ditches, which were cast down by the rebels, were new ditched: The boom or chain cross the river, at the Common Staithe: was repair'd; the houses and yards there, clear'd of a great quantity of burnt corn, rubbish, &c. and the weights that belonged to the Crane-house that was burnt there got together, and the iron-work of the gates that were burnt; the Pinfold or pound that stood at Timbyrhill, the pales being torne off by the rebels, was now taken up, and the stuff sawn and made into two, one replaced there, and another set in St. Austins, the most of that charge being borne by Colson a carpenter and John Howman, who spoil'd the said Pinfold in the commotion time; the Market-place was cleansed, which was so full of dirt and muck that it took two men 24 days each, and another man 12 days, in cleansing and loading of carts, for 248 loads were carried away; and it took another man 12 days to clean the Guildhall rooms, chambers, leads, and prisons, from which 24 loads were carried, and a vast quantity from the Newhall cloisters.

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